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Britain a warrant to make a nation weaker than herself 'subject to her purposes and interests.' It would confirm the claim of Great Britain to rule and dominate the people of Ireland 'even in her own internal affairs by arbitrary and irresponsible force.'

"Any guarantee, under Article 10, of territorial integrity and political independence as affecting Ireland, can rightly enure only to the benefit of the people of Ireland themselves.

"In the name, therefore, of the people of Ireland, I ask that the Irish nation may be invited to give their adhesion to the Covenant of the League of Nations, and that membership of the League—a membership available under article 7 even to Colonies who have freely and legislatively subscribed to the supremacy of the English Imperial Parliament—shall not be denied to the Government of a free independent Irish Republic."

RUSSIA'S PLEA

By BARON F. A. KORFF*

RUSSIAN people feel very badly about the way the Peace Conference is working, not only on account of the methods of handling the purely Russian question, but especially because of the consequences such a policy will have for the whole civilized world.

For some time it has been evident to most enlightened people that there can be no peace unless Russia is admitted to the Council of Nations. This, however, cannot happen, unless order in Russia is re-established and anarchy stopped; in turn, this can be achieved only on the sole condition of ending the Bolshevik régime. There was a time when this could have been done with great easiness and only a small effort on the part of the Allies; now the question is much more complicated and difficult to resolve.

For months the Russians have been asking for help and hardly any was forthcoming; moreover, the assistance granted was usually given by the wrong end and means. We have a striking example in the case of Odessa, where the weak French help and political interference only provoked a gathering of strong Bolshevik forces, which finally took hold of the whole southern region.

Russians, asking for help and assistance, realize very well all the difficulties an armed intervention in Russia will encounter; they know the abhorrence of modern democracies to any form of military intervention, as well as the great weariness of the Allied peoples after this frightful war; but they also know that assistance can be given in ways other than that of armed men, regiments or divisions; they would be quite satisfied for any assistance and help, economic or moral. For some time back Russians have heard no word of encouragement from the Allied Governments and do not even know if they are looked at, at present, as Allies, neutrals or enemies.

The first thing to do, in consequence, for those who want a firm European peace established in the near fu-

ture, is for the Allies to help Russia to get out of her state of anarchy, by telling the Russians that they are still their friends and not their foes; in other words, by giving them sincere moral support. Secondly, by granting any possible economic or financial assistance; boots or shirts are just as valuable as cartridges and artillery; for months, for instance, the Russian south has been without anæsthetics, and hundreds of patients and wounded have been operated upon without ether or chloroform, some of them even committing suicide rather than to undergo such operations.

Russians realize, too, that Western Democracies have apprehensions as to the return of reaction or autocracy in Russia, after order will be established. Concerning the latter danger, one must say that the longer anarchy lasts the more chances for a reactionary régime there will be, and the longer help from the outside is delayed, the more likely such a reactionary success would be. Consequently it would seem to be the direct interest for the Allied nations to assist Russia in avoiding such a danger. Fortunately the Russian Democrats do not fear this reaction, as they know and are absolutely convinced of the democratic feelings and ideals of their people; of all peoples of the world the Russians are one of the most democratic. However, realizing the fears of the Western Nations, the Russians are quite willing to give guarantees for the establishment of a democratic form of government in the regions of liberated Russia. If help can be given on such a condition, most of the honest Russians would agree without the slightest hesitation. For example, there could be required from Russia, in case the Allies would send the necessary assistance, the immediate convocation of a Constitutional Assembly; if a Pan-Russian Assembly would still be impossible, one for Siberia could be elected in no time. Other guarantees, if necessary, could be added with the mutual consent of the Allies and Russians. Thus would be satisfied the rightful demands of the Western Democracies and *any form* of help or intervention could be made really *democratic*.

Of all nations of the world, Russia can probably least afford such bloodshed as is taking place in our day; it is her educated class that is suffering worst of all and it is this class that is so much smaller numerically in Russia than in the other countries; consequently, when the time of reconstruction will come, as it is bound to come, there will be left far too few educated people to help Russia in getting an enlightened and liberal form of government. It is this reason that forces the Russians, no matter how disagreeable such a request may be to their national pride, to ask for assistance.

Lately, however, the danger of Bolshevism is looming far beyond Russia proper, and the day might easily come when some of the Western Nations will be seriously threatened by it. There is no doubt whatever that Bolshevism is a social disease and a very *contagious* one, too, and no nation can deem itself absolutely immune, whatever its social conditions may be. The great weariness that overcame the people of the world the moment the war was over helps very much to create everywhere social discontent. Many other causes also aid in fostering class hatred and all sorts of dissatisfaction, which also lead to possible cases of Bolshevism. Now, it is

* This article was written in Paris, April 20th, after repeated interviews between its author and the editor of THE ADVOCATE.

a well-known fact to medicine and hygiene, that in order to fight a contagious disease you have first of all to destroy the centers of infection; just so with Bolshevism—you cannot fight its spread in the west if the eastern centers, both in Russia and Germany, remain intact and can continuously furnish the world with new supplies of its social poison. Further, the serious disease cannot be cured by children's medicine. You cannot cure cancer by giving the patient "crying pills" for babies. Just the same with Bolshevism—it is a most serious social disease and cannot be treated by homeopathic methods.

Unfortunately the Peace Conference, or the Conference of the Big Four, as it is lately called in Paris, up to April, never did anything else in the Russian question than to apply just such home-made homeopathic remedies, instead of looking the danger right in the face. No wonder that so little was achieved, though more than five months have elapsed since the armistice was first signed.

Many people here in Paris realize that the Russian question is the *most* difficult one to settle, but up to now there was no single man who had enough moral courage to tackle it. No wonder that the whole system of the future peace of the world is still "in pendent conditions," as the lawyers say. The League of Nations is not possible until the Russian question is solved and Russia dragged out of anarchy.

The Russians now stand only as witnesses and give their warning to the Western world. Alas, one must say, that their warnings remain quite unheeded and most of us begin to feel that when our words will at last be listened to it will be too late and the civilized world will have to deal with local forms of Bolshevism, spreading from the East as an appalling social pestilence.

There exists another danger in the present state of Russia, and one which might prove far more dangerous, no matter how horrible the Bolshevik régime may seem. I mean the German danger, the danger of Russia getting to be a German colony and later on an Ally and an endless source of man-power and food for the enterprising and energetic Germans. It was pointed out many a time what enormous danger such a thick clump in the East of Europe (Germany, Russia, and possibly even Japan) will prove to the rest of the world; there will not exist any power on earth which in such a case will be able to fight it or curb its imperialistic or other predatory aims. Germany will in short order organize and start the exploitation of the great resources of Russia and consequently will be able once more to threaten the world with a well-disciplined, numerous army, having at her back really inexhaustible supplies of food and all other necessary implements of war.

Even during those last months, when Germany was herself seething with discontent and revolution, her new socialistic government found sufficient time and energy to continue their far-sighted policy in Russia. While the Allies did not move a finger for acquiring the sympathies of the people, the Germans were steadily continuing their very systematic propaganda, conducted by hundreds of agents in the different parts of Russia, those liberated from the Bolsheviks, as well as those still under the Bolshevik sway. They have their agents in

the press, among the political parties and organizations, with the ruling or governing people, and so forth, spending, as usual, enormous sums of money. This has been going on for many months, and consequently the Russian people get gradually accustomed to the idea of German "friendship." In many a case one hears, for instance, that the Russians, suffering from Bolshevik persecutions, openly say, that they prefer the German rule, which protects their families, wives, and children from the horrors of this tyrannical régime. If the Allies are not careful and do not take immediate steps to counteract this propaganda and this growing feeling among the Russian population, the time will come when, awakening from anarchy, Russia will also awake to see a firm German grip established over her political and economic assets. Then it will be too late to remedy such a calamity, which is already looming large on the horizon, to the disgust of all patriotic Russians.

ON THE WING BETWEEN PARIS AND BRUSSELS

By Arthur D. Call

WE had planned to go, Amphytrion, the Captain, the Swedish friend, and I, Saturday, March 29. Friends had accompanied the four of us to Buc, near which are the Farman aviation fields, beyond Versailles and some sixteen miles from Paris, all the way in taxicabs just to see the thing happen. True, there was a March gale on, and it seemed to come straight from Brussels, the place to which we proposed to fly. We examined the Goliath-Farman, our prospective bird of passage, with critical eyes. We recalled that it had flown from Paris to London and return, February 8, with fourteen passengers, and to Brussels and return, February 11, with sixteen. The big thing looked comfortable, with its glass enclosed "stateroom," wicker chairs along one side and camp-chairs along the other, all fastened to the floor. It had all the air of strength and self-assurance. It never occurred to us to doubt its ability to go wherever it chose. But after much consultation, telephoning "up the line" for weather news, especially after the arrival of two or three women passengers, it was decided to postpone the flight for a week. The final argument was that the rough weather would probably cause the ladies to be a bit sea-sick, whereupon we men were of course convinced and satisfied. There is no doubt that that day saw the equinoctial storm of the season, the wildest winds of the most pestiferous weather known to the disreputable repertory of a villainous Paris winter. We had chocolate, returned to Paris with one thought uppermost, the next Saturday that seemed so far away.

MORE SUCCESSFUL

But the next Saturday kept up the reputation of Saturdays for punctuality, arrived not only, but with healing in its wings. The sun shone. The wind, northeasterly, disturbed no one, neither the haze. This time we were going to fly. We prepared accordingly, ob-